

MARKET PLANNING CORPORATION

NEWARK: A CITY IN TRANSITION

VOLUME LIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Prepared for

The City of Newark, New Jersey,

Leo P. Carlin, Mayor

Mayor's Commission on Group Relations,

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the Spring and early Summer of 1958, a survey was conducted among citizens of Newark by Market Planning Corporation, under contract to the City of Newark. The survey was conducted for the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations, and was comprised of a series of questions pertinent to the work of that Commission in its efforts to encourage mutual understanding, and to work toward the elimination of prejudice and for the guarantee of equal rights for the various groups that make up the citizenry of Newark.

This volume, the third and last one, is a summary of the major findings of the survey, together with some general recommendations for the Commission's consideration. The recommendations are limited to those which may legitimately be made on the basis of an opinion survey among the broad mass of citizens. However, when combined with knowledge from other sources, the facts of this survey may well be expected to contribute to action programs of a wide scope.

The two earlier volumes, which contain more detailed presentations of the findings and statistical appendices, are in the library of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations.

The Content of the Study

The content of the study falls into two general sections. The first, presented in Volume I, describes the residents of Newark in terms of the

areas in which they presently live as well as those they came from and plan to move to, their racial or ethnic background, their ages, the amount of money they make, the rent they pay, and some facts on their housing.

The second part of the study, presented in Volume II, is concerned with the attitudes and opinions of the heads of Newark's households on matters pertinent to the field of group relations. The attitudes of white and Negro heads of households are considered separately. The topics covered include certain general and specific attitudes which white and Negro heads of households have towards each other; estimates of racial, religious and ethnic tension and problems in Newark; the relationship between evaluation of one's own neighborhood and the presence of neighbors of a different race; opinions of the equality of public services in Newark (schools, police, garbage collection, recreation facilities, and health and welfare services) rendered to the major groups in Newark's population; and opinions and beliefs about various aspects of housing as they relate to race.

In each of these areas the survey presents the way the citizens of Newark perceive the situation; it does not purport to present the expert's objective conclusion about what the facts may be. Indeed, discrepancies between public interpretation of any aspect of life in Newark and the situation as actually known or believed to exist by the Commission or other authorities may well provide the basis for further action or study programs.

Much of the analysis is concerned with the attitudes and opinions of two major races - the white and Negro, and one ethnic group - the Puerto Ricans. The survey was originally planned to include a separate analysis of the responses of the Puerto Rican citizens, but there were too few in this category to provide an adequate sample for analysis. Consequently separate analyses were for the most part made only of the responses of the whites and Negroes.

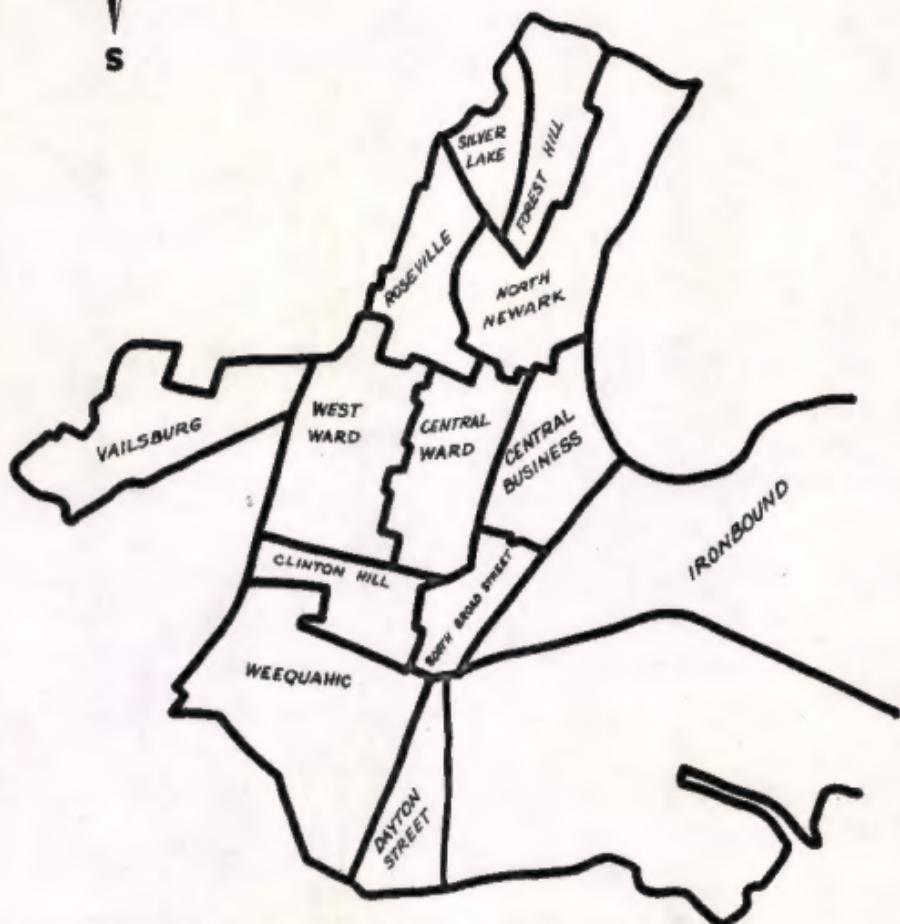
Analyzing the statistics for Puerto Ricans separately from those for whites and Negroes is of course illogical from a racial point of view, since people of Puerto Rican descent may be white, Negro, Indian, or some mixture of the three. This separation is maintained because the arrival of Puerto Ricans in Newark is a distinct social phenomenon which has its own separate problems, and which stimulates different reactions among people than does the movement of mainland whites and Negroes.

In some instances there were too few interviews conducted in a neighborhood for individual analysis; as a result some neighborhoods have been combined. For example, the Weequahic and Dayton Street neighborhoods are discussed together throughout this report.

The Sample

There were 4,028 interviews conducted with heads of households in Newark. The techniques of probability sampling, described more fully in the preceding volumes, were employed. This means that, subject to a statistical

error which can be calculated, the results of the survey can be interpreted as a reflection of the facts about all households in Newark, and the opinions of all heads of households in Newark. (Persons living alone are included in the survey: they are counted as heads of one-person households.) It should be kept in mind that people living in hotels, institutions, and others in the so-called "non-household" population are not included. The decision to exclude this "non-household" population from the survey was made because their opinions were considered of less import to the general climate of opinion in Newark.



NEWARK, N.J.

Newark's Neighborhoods

In this report reference will be made to various neighborhoods within Newark, shown in outline on the accompanying map of the city. The following thumbnail sketches of each neighborhood have been provided by the Newark Central Planning Board, with minor modifications to conform with the neighborhood designations used by Market Planning Corporation in this study.

FOREST HILL

Predominantly residential in character, this is a stable neighborhood comprised of "old first families" and, more recently, families of Italian origin. In addition to spacious homes there are some well maintained apartment buildings.

SILVER LAKE

This neighborhood is socially separated from the rest of its parent community, Roseville. An Italian-origin population predominates.

NORTH NEWARK

This is a complex, heterogeneous neighborhood. An Italian population is concentrated in the southern end of this area. There are two large low-income housing projects in the neighborhood and the city's first large middle to high income redevelopment project is presently under construction here.

CENTRAL WARD

The city's worst slums are located in the southern end of this neighborhood. However, it is now undergoing a major redevelopment. There are two existing public housing projects, another under construction and one in planning. The population is predominantly Negro.

CENTRAL BUSINESS

This is the central functional district in Newark, containing the primary and secondary core of the business district. This district is increasing in importance as a major office center. The Central Business area is now also one of the focal points of the city's redevelopment activity. There are a few scattered residential sections in the neighborhood.

SOUTH BROAD STREET

This is the residential appendage of the Central Business area. There are other uses that front on major streets and on the periphery, including industrial uses in the southern portion. Many of the once fine town houses have been converted to more intensive use since the recent influx of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

IRONBOUND

The Ironbound is the polyglot "melting pot" in the city. It consists of a large lower middle class population and contains a high mixture of land uses. Despite the land use situation the area is essentially stable and satisfactorily maintained, except at the fringes, where industrial and other non-residential encroachments are heaviest.

WEEQUAHIC

A residential community, Weequahic has several retail and commercial sections which serve the large Jewish population. Also contained in the area is Weequahic Park, and abutting the park, apartment developments. Negroes and a few Puerto Ricans reside in the North-eastern section of this area. Few, if any, live south of Lyons Avenue.

DAYTON STREET

This area, more or less physically isolated from the other communities, consists of two public housing projects, and many 1 to 6 family structures. There are few institutions in this small community other than the Dayton Street School.

CLINTON HILL

Formerly consisting of a large Jewish population, Clinton Hill is one of the areas which has experienced a recent increase of Negro residents. An interracial organization in Clinton Hill is trying to maintain the neighborhood standards in this predominantly residential home-owning community and to aid in the adjustment problems of a changing neighborhood situation.

VAILSBURG

This community contains a large number of families of Irish-origin. Many public officials live there. Commercially and institutionally, Vailsburg is a strong stable community. The westernmost part of Vailsburg known as Ivy Hill, is the newest residential section of the city.

WEST WARD

Previously, this area was comprised of families of Italian, Irish and German origin. In recent years Negroes have also become a part of the neighborhood. It is generally a deteriorating community with crowded frame structures and brick tenements.

ROSEVILLE

Roseville, a community with a diverse population, has a substantial commercial, institutional and residential core. It is bisected by rail lines, and flanked on the east by the city subway.

II. THE POPULATION OF NEWARK

In 1950, Newark was the 21st largest city in the United States, according to the Federal Census. The best estimate from the current survey is that the population has declined slightly since 1950, though the range of error inherent in the statistical procedures employed allow the possibility that there may have been no real change at all in the population.^{1/} The following table shows the decline in numbers when the household population in 1958 is compared with that in 1950.

Household Population

<u>1950 Census</u>	<u>1958 Survey^{1/}</u>
417,172	411,300

The 1950 figure, dealing as it does with the household population, is not the figure for total population with which most people are familiar. This more familiar number, 438,776, refers to the entire 1950 population of the city, not just to those living in households. While there is no exact way to translate the current survey into a comparable figure, an estimate for 1958 can be derived if it is assumed that the non-household population of Newark has stayed the same in size from 1950 to 1958. It should be underscored, however, that the figure is based on an assumption which can neither be proved nor disproved. The following table shows the estimated figure and the comparable one from the 1950 Census.

^{1/}The reader interested in the range or error of the figures in this report is referred to Volume I of this survey. As one example, the reader will find in Volume I that there are 95 chances out of 100 that Newark's population in 1958 is 411,288, plus or minus 16,452. In subsequent tables in this non-technical summary, the range of error will not be stated.

Total Population

1950 Census 1958 Survey

438,776 430,600

If there has been little change in the total numbers of Newark's citizens there have nonetheless been striking changes in the composition of the population: Newark in 1958 is a much different place than it was in 1950. During this eight year period the white population of Newark declined sharply, while the Negro population moved rapidly upward. No separate statistics for Puerto Ricans are available for 1950, but it appears that their 1958 numbers probably represent a sizeable increase over the Census year. At present the household population of Newark is 62% white, 35% Negro, and 3% Puerto Rican. (Though Puerto Ricans are reported separately, they may be white, Negro, Indian, or any combination of these three.) In comparison, in 1950, 84% of the city's household population was white.

To look at these figures in another way, the numbers living in white households declined by about 93,000 between 1950 and 1958. On the other hand, the non-white household population increased by about 74,000, more than doubling during the period since the 1950 Census. Thus during this eight year period, Newark has experienced a marked shrinkage in the numbers of its white residents which has been counterbalanced by a rapid increase in the numbers of its Negro residents.

The following table shows the 1950 Census figures and the survey estimates for 1958:

	<u>1950 Census of Housing</u>	<u>1958 Survey</u>
White	348,836	255,800
Non-white	68,316	142,600
Puerto Rican(1)	-	12,900

(1)Not listed separately in 1950 Census of Housing. Because of the small number of interviews with Puerto Ricans, there is a wide range of possible error in the 1958 estimate.

Except for the Forest Hill-Silver Lake and Vailsburg areas, every neighborhood in Newark has participated in this racial change. In 1950, Central Ward was the only area with a majority of Negro residents; Central Business District was about one-third Negro. In 1958, Negroes constitute a clear majority of the household population in both the Central Ward and South Broad Street neighborhoods, and if some of the Puerto Ricans who live in Central Business District were to be classified as Negroes, this neighborhood would also have a Negro majority in 1958. Further, in Clinton Hill and West Ward, areas in which less than ten per cent of the population was non-white in 1950, Negroes comprise more than forty per cent of the residents in 1958. The following table shows the proportion of the population in each Newark neighborhood that was non-white in 1950, and the proportions that are Negro and Puerto Rican in each in 1958:

Neighborhood	1950	1958	
	Non-White	Negro	Puerto Rican
Forest Hill-Silver Lake	4%	2%	-
North Newark	12%	24%	2%
Central Ward	63%	85%	2%
Central Business	35%	46%	33%
South Broad Street	20%	61%	9%
Ironbound	7%	14%	6%
Weequahic-Dayton Street	2%	16%	2%
Clinton Hill	8%	44%	*
Vailsburg	1%	*	-
West Ward	9%	43%	-
Roseville	4%	17%	-

*Less than 0.5 per cent

Within the City of Newark the general pattern of movement for Negroes is from the Central Ward to other neighborhoods. A sizeable proportion (ranging from 28% to 43%) of the Negro heads of households in every neighborhood state that the last move they made within the ten year period preceding the survey was from the Central Ward to their current location. However, though Negroes are moving out in all directions, the tendency is to move toward the south, to Clinton Hill, more than anywhere else.

A secondary pattern of Negro movement within the city is beginning to emerge. Clinton Hill is itself becoming a neighborhood from which Negroes move to still other locations. It is next in importance to Central Ward as the last neighborhood of residence for Negroes who have moved in the last ten years. Thus, in broadest terms, Negroes tend to move out from the Central Ward into Clinton Hill, and then, on a smaller scale, out from Clinton Hill to other neighborhoods.

Newark's whites follow the classic pattern of movement recognized in all big cities - they move further and further out from the center, and are often lost to the suburbs. This pattern may be partially demonstrated by the recent white movement into Weequahic-Dayton Street which is accounted for to a significant degree by movement out of Clinton Hill, while Forest Hill-Silver Lake and Roseville appear to attract whites from North Newark. It should be added, however, that a large share of the new residents in Vailsburg, and to a lesser extent Forest Hill-Silver Lake, are people who are just entering Newark.

To prevent misinterpretation of the data, it is necessary to remind readers that the movement of whites in Newark toward the periphery of the city and beyond does not result simply from the movement of Negroes into and within the city. With the development of modern means of transportation and communication, most large American cities are experiencing the flight to the rim of the city and to the suburbs, regardless of the racial composition and distribution within the central city itself.

It is true that some of Newark's whites who are hoping to move within the next year mention the presence of Negroes in the neighborhood as a motivating factor. However, this is mentioned by less than a fifth of those who hope to move, while over a quarter of this group talk of the inadequacies of their current housing as the reason for the planned move. Another frequently expressed reason, mentioned by sixteen per cent of this group, does not relate to race either, but to such special personal considerations as changed place of employment.

Characteristics of the Population

A few of the more significant findings of an analysis of characteristics of the two major groups within the population - white and Negro - are related to age, place of origin of head of house, income, and housing.

1. Age

As in the 1950 census, so in the current survey, whites in Newark are a good bit older than Negroes. A quarter of the white population as compared with twelve per cent of the Negroes are 50 years of age or more. A concomitant of this difference in age distribution is a much heavier concentration of young children in the Negro population as compared with the white. (Though the figures on Puerto Ricans are too small for fine analysis it appears that they in turn are even younger than the Negro population.)

2. Place of Origin of Head of House

As would be expected, in view of the heavy recent migration of Negroes into Newark, only eight per cent of the heads of Negro households were born in Newark itself. The South was the birthplace of three-quarters of the male heads of Negro households. Most of the heads of white households (68%) were born in the U.S., largely in Newark itself. In almost a tenth of the white households the male head was born in Italy; no other country accounts for so large a proportion of the heads of households.

3. Income

The median family income, before taxes, for all Newark households in 1958 was \$4,375; this means that half the families in the city had incomes above this figure and half below it. The median for white households is slightly above \$4,700; for Negro households it is about \$3,700; for the Puerto Ricans it is the lowest, about \$3,400. Thus, where the households are the largest, among Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the income is the smallest.

4. Housing

A fourth of Newark's households own their own homes. The figure is highest for the whites, and practically non-existent for the Puerto Ricans.

Proportion of Each Group Owning Their Homes

<u>Whites</u>	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>
30%	16%	1%

One measure of the adequacy of housing is the extent of over-crowding, as measured by the number of persons per room. The U.S. Census of Housing reports on the proportion of occupied dwelling units in which 1.51 or more persons per room are living. In 1950, the Census found that in four per cent of the Newark dwelling units there were 1.51 or more persons per room. The current study also shows that four per cent of the households have 1.51 or more persons per room. However, among the whites this percentage shrinks to one per cent, while among Negroes it rises to ten per cent. Thus, ten per cent of Newark's Negro households are living to some extent in overcrowded housing.

Approximately one in ten (9%) of Newark's renters live in quarters which they rent furnished. Negro and Puerto Rican renters are much more likely to live in furnished apartments or rooms than are whites. Only four per cent of white renters live in furnished quarters compared with sixteen per cent of Negro and twelve per cent of Puerto Rican renters.

When the amount of rent paid by each group is examined, a rather interesting fact emerges. Not surprisingly, the average rent paid

by the whites is higher than that paid by the other groups. Despite their lower income levels, however, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are about as likely as whites to pay rents as high as seventy-five dollars a month or more.

<u>Average Monthly Rent</u>	<u>Proportion of Each Group Paying a Monthly Rent of \$75 or More</u>
Whites	27%
Negroes	25%
Puerto Ricans(1)	25%
Total	26%

(1) Figures for this group are subject to wide variation, because of the small number of Puerto Rican interviews.

A comparison of rental figures by individual neighborhood shows that in the very neighborhoods in which the largest numbers of Negro renters live - Central Ward, Central Business-South Broad Street, Clinton Hill, and West Ward - the average monthly rent paid by Negroes is higher than that paid by whites. While in any one of the above-mentioned neighborhoods the number of interviews with either white or Negro renters may be too small to permit a detailed discussion of rental differentials, the fact that in every one of these neighborhoods Negroes were found to be paying higher average monthly rents than whites demonstrates the widespread nature of this phenomenon.

The question arises as to whether Negroes are being charged premium rents in Newark and are forced to pay more than their white neighbors for similar quarters. The data of this survey carry a strong presumption that such may be the case. While this study did not investigate many aspects of the quality of housing provided people of Newark, the survey does show that Newark's Negroes, though they pay higher rents, are not getting larger apartments for the extra money. Furthermore, they are slightly less likely than whites to have private toilet facilities, which raises the possibility that they may even be getting poorer facilities for more money.

It is true that Negroes rent furnished apartments more often than whites, and presumably the furnishings are worth some increase in rent, though how much of an increase is another question.

Recommendation

This survey shows that Negro rents are on the average higher than white rents in the neighborhoods of greatest Negro concentration. It cannot be said that conclusive proof of rent gouging has been obtained, because all the relevant aspects of housing and rental practices were not investigated. However, the evidence is believed strong enough to warrant an investigation aimed directly at settling the question of whether or not discriminatory rents are being charged Negroes in Newark.

III. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF NEWARK RESIDENTS

General Considerations

With the changing numerical relationships between the white and Negro residents of Newark, the two races are sharing the facilities of the city - housing, schools, places of employment, government, hospitals, playgrounds, transportation, and so forth - to an ever increasing extent. Relationships have been developing for which there are few, if any precedents in the city's history.

The survey contains evidence of a high degree of contact, both formal and informal, between the white and Negro races in Newark. Considering social contacts, shared group memberships, contacts in a work situation, or in employer-employee relationships, over two-thirds of the white heads of household and over eighty-five per cent of the Negro heads of household have had such interracial contacts.

The better-educated and the more well-to-do of both races are more likely than others to report both social contacts and those which come about through groups and organizations. It is likely that these groups, the educated and relatively well-to-do, supply the greatest share of Newark's community leadership, and thus this greater degree of contact takes on a special significance.

Yet, despite evidences of changing numerical and social relationships in Newark, subsequent sections of this report will show that with regard

to most questions only a minority of Newark's residents espouse opinions that would make for serious interracial friction. The word "minority" here raises a question: What proportion of the population must hold prejudicial attitudes before a dangerous climate of opinion exists? If, for example, two-thirds of the whites want to discriminate against Negroes in some specific fashion, clearly a negative situation exists. But if only a tenth would favor such discrimination, is the situation a good one or a bad one?

Actually, the answer is not to be found in considering only the sizes of the groups involved. It is much more realistic to ask how likely it is, in a period of social change, that the people who dislike what is happening will nevertheless comply peacefully with the changes, and whether, in time, they will come to change their attitudes to accept the new conditions more fully. Although, as mentioned above, in most instances only a minority of Newark's residents hold opinions with a potential for interracial friction, it is at least as important to learn in what kinds of action their views will find expression.

This section of the survey is concerned with opinions and attitudes only, and not with the dynamics of social action. However, in an effort to shed light on this very basic question, some reference will now be made to a review, in 1953, of the available evidence on desegregation in all areas of life - schools, housing, employment, government, and

and so forth.^{1/} It was suggested that efficient desegregation, with minimal social disturbance depends on:

- "A. A clear and unequivocal statement of policy by leaders with prestige and other authorities;
- "B. Firm enforcement of the changed policy by authorities and persistence in the execution of this policy in the face of initial resistance;
- "C. A willingness to deal with violations, attempted violations, and incitement to violations by a resort to the law and strong enforcement action;
- "D. A refusal of the authorities to resort to, engage in or tolerate subterfuges, gerrymandering or other devices for evading the principles and the fact of desegregation.
- "E. An appeal to the individuals concerned in terms of their religious principles of brotherhood and their acceptance of the American traditions of fair play and equal justice."

The principles outlined above suggest that in addition to the legal sanctions against discrimination and segregation, the very existence of such a group as the Mayor's Commission, with its potential for mobilizing and strengthening community leadership, is a force for harmony in race relations, even among the negatively disposed citizens. To state the situation another way, if it is made too painful for the opposition forces, and if they feel the lack of support for their point of view among the leadership, then they will comply with the reality, even if they do not accept it privately.

^{1/} Journal of Social Issues, Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence, Vol. IX, no. 4, 1953. This review was part of the testimony presented to the U. S. Supreme Court in the case which resulted in the decision ordering desegregation of the schools. These principles were drawn up by an official committee of a national professional association of social psychologists and psychologists, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association.

To go one step further, it is also suggested in this same source as part of a theory of social change, that there seems to be evidence to support the finding that a change in attitudes can follow a change in the social reality. Over a period of time, if the changed social reality is consistently supported by the leaders and prestige figures in a community, it will gradually gain attitudinal acceptance, even among those who were privately opposed and complied out of necessity at first.^{1/} There is some evidence of such changes actually taking place in housing developments, where those whites who live in fairly close proximity to Negroes show the greatest improvement in their originally apprehensive attitudes.^{2/}

To return to the question raised earlier, the outlook for harmonious race relations is good when both the numbers holding attitudes prejudicial to good race relations are small, and when even that small group is rendered unlikely to act because of the mobilization of community resources and leadership against such action.

Acceptance of Discriminatory Practices

Belief in residential segregation is quite high among heads of white households; it is much higher than belief in political or employment discrimination against either Negroes or Puerto Ricans.

^{1/} Ibid, pp. 69-76

^{2/} See, for example, Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1955. *Human Relations in Interracial Housing: A Study of the Contact Hypothesis.* University of Minnesota Press.

Acceptance of or agreement with discrimination, which involves the taking of action against a group, provides a more serious element in an interracial situation than agreement with statements reflecting feelings of prejudice. A series of statements suggesting discriminatory actions against Negroes, and a similar series involving Puerto Ricans, were presented to white respondents for their agreement or disagreement. The following table compares the proportions who agree with each statement when it applies to Negroes and when it applies to Puerto Ricans, and, in addition, shows the proportion who believe in limiting the migration of Puerto Ricans to the U. S. mainland.

Proportion of heads of white households who agree with each statement calling for acts of discrimination

<u>Statement:</u>	<u>Agree when the statement applies to:</u>	
	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>
In general, it would be a good idea to keep Negroes/Puerto Ricans from moving into white neighborhoods.	64%	63%
It would be a good idea if Negroes/Puerto Ricans were prevented from getting more political power than they have now.	38%	49%
In general, Negroes/Puerto Ricans should not be allowed to hold high political offices.	33%	47%
It would be a good idea if business concerns would limit the number of Negroes/Puerto Ricans they hire.	25%	39%
It would be a good idea if the number of Puerto Ricans who come to this country would be limited by the government	-(1)	68%
<u>Agree with none of the above</u>	31%	24%

(1)Not applicable to Negroes.

Agreement that Negroes should be prevented from moving into white neighborhoods is high among all sub-groups analyzed, but is less prevalent among the better educated and those in the upper socio-economic status groups. In Clinton Hill, where cooperative action of white and Negro residents has produced some dramatic successes in arresting blight, belief in such segregation is at its lowest - but even here half of the whites express a belief in such a discriminatory practice.

It is noteworthy that with the exception of residential restrictions, the white citizens of Newark are more willing to endorse discrimination against Puerto Ricans, a relatively new minority group, than against Negroes. Thus the whites agree with discriminatory practices directed against a group with which they can have had only the most limited contact, more than they agree with discrimination against the Negroes, with whom they have had many and varied contacts. Their stand against a group they do not know is more negative than their stand against a group they already know.

Evaluations of Negroes and Puerto Ricans as Neighbors

The white residents of Newark who live in the same neighborhoods as Negroes or Puerto Ricans were asked whether they liked or disliked such neighbors, or whether there were both good and bad things about the situation. Whites who do not live in mixed neighborhoods were asked how they would like having such neighbors. Responses were given primarily in terms of Negro neighbors, rather than Puerto Ricans.

On the whole, the answers divide into about three equal groups - those who have no objection to Negro neighbors, those who reject such neighbors completely, and those who accept some things and reject others. Among those people who find something to dislike, objections relate both to undesirable behavior of these minorities, and to the negative effect of their presence on property in the neighborhood.

Very significantly for the welfare of Newark, there is a reversal in the trend which prevails throughout the analysis of finding less prejudice among the well-to-do. It is the poorer people of Newark who are more willing to accept Negroes as neighbors; nearly half the lowest socio-economic group find nothing to dislike in having Negro neighbors, as compared with only a fourth of the highest socio-economic level who feel this way.

A look at the neighborhood shows that only in the relatively poorer Central Ward, Central Business-South Broad Street, and North Newark areas do over forty per cent of the whites raise no objection to the idea of having Negro neighbors. It is highly likely that fears relating to neighborhood deterioration and to the belief that Negro neighbors necessarily mean a decline in property value are an important factor in the attitudes of Newark's upper income groups, but are less pressing considerations among the poorer residents.

Social Acceptance

An investigation of the extent to which members of each race were willing to accept social relations with people of the other race shows that on the whole, the whites in Newark appear unprepared to make any emotional investment in relationships with Negroes. Two-thirds of them say they would be willing to have Negroes as speaking acquaintances, while the remainder are split between a willingness to accept Negroes as close friends and a complete rejection of social contact with them. Acceptance, but at a distance, appears to be the dominant white attitude, though acceptance of closer personal contacts is higher among the well-to-do and the better educated.

Upper income whites accept Negroes as friends more often than low income whites, but, as discussed earlier, more often reject them as neighbors. Thus, richer people are more amenable to associating with Negroes as long as they keep their physical distance (live apart), while poorer people care less where the Negroes live but want them to keep their social distance.

Consistent with the natural desire for acceptance within the total society in which one lives is the fact that the majority of Newark's Negroes (78%) would be willing to have some white people as personal friends, while only two per cent want nothing at all to do with whites socially. The number of Negroes who express an interest in close social contact is far in excess of the numbers who have such contacts at present.

This desire for equal status relations with the white majority is at its strongest among college educated Negroes and among those born in the North.

Awareness of Inter-Group Tension and Problems

There is no prevailing atmosphere of racial conflict in Newark, for the majority of both whites and Negroes feel that races "always get along" in Newark. There are minorities in both races, however, who feel that this is not always the case. Among whites thirty-nine per cent believe either that once in a while the races do not get along, or that they often do not; among Negroes, the comparable figure is thirty-six per cent.

The expression "getting along," however, lends itself to many interpretations: one person, seeing the absence of race riots, will conclude that the races get along in Newark; another person, irritated by a particular individual of another race, will say they do not get along. It is very likely that in Newark a substantial part of those who see racial friction are speaking of subtler aspects rather than of open conflict.

Among both whites and Negroes the better educated are the ones who are more likely to say that the races do not always get along. Moreover, among the Negroes, those in families where the head of the house was born in the North are also more likely to perceive friction. These

groups, on the whole, may be the ones that would be more likely to take a more sophisticated view of what constitutes "getting along." It is possible that if the perception of shortcomings in race relations is greatest among the most educated in both races, then the drive toward finding solutions is likely to be more positive and effective in nature than it would be otherwise.

Among whites, there is also a greater tendency for those who are in favor of each of the discriminatory measures, discussed earlier, to see evidence of racial tension than is found among those who disapprove of the measures. This may be related to the fact that people look for and find what they want to see. Thus, those people who would favor discriminatory actions against a group would see more evidence of conflict in Newark than would those without such predisposing attitudes.

Neither whites nor Negroes who perceive conflict are, on the whole, able to formulate clearly their impressions of such conflict. Whites do not describe the conflict with any specificity and seldom attribute responsibility to themselves, or take into account any mutual responsibility which may be involved. Negroes, in talking about the ways the races fail to get along, speak primarily in very general terms of "discrimination" and "intolerance" on the part of the whites.

Awareness of disharmony between religious groups in Newark is practically non-existent. Only one per cent of either the whites or the Negroes report such awareness. Furthermore, among responses to a

different question concerned with unfair treatment of religious and racial groups in Newark, practically no mention was made of any religious group as receiving unfair treatment.

With regard to the question of whether racial groups are treated unfairly in Newark, about half the Negroes believe that members of their race are not always treated fairly in Newark. This is a larger proportion than thought that there was actual racial tension. This presents a situation in which more Negroes believe that they are treated unfairly than believe that such unfair treatment translates into disharmony between the races. If, as this seems to indicate, Negroes do not perceive their difficulties as a people in Newark in terms of racial tension, another encouraging sign for the continuance of good race relations may be said to exist.

Housing and employment are the two areas with which most of the Negroes are concerned when discussing unfair treatment of their races. Employment problems are more important to the group that is upwardly mobile in Newark's social structure - the college educated and the more well-to-do - while housing problems are somewhat more salient for those in the lower socio-economic levels.

Before specific questions on the topic were asked, seven per cent of the Negroes spontaneously said that Negroes were not always treated fairly by Newark's police; five per cent of the white respondents also volunteered this opinion. No other city service or institution was singled out, even to this relatively small degree, for such mention.

In terms of what are seen as the major problems of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Newark, jobs and housing are again considered by both whites and Negroes as the areas for primary concern. Whites were less able to enumerate the problems of these minority groups than were Negroes. One in five (18%) of the whites mentioned lack of housing and one in ten (11%) referred to the lack of jobs. Among Negroes themselves housing appears to be the more urgent of the two, for about three out of five referred to problems in this area compared with two out of five who mentioned occupational difficulties.

Evaluations of Own Neighborhood

The majority of both white (63%) and Negro (56%) heads of households in Newark believe their neighborhoods are good ones in which to live. Discontent with one's own neighborhood is most often found among residents in those areas which have objective disadvantages for comfortable living. However, among whites who think there are some or many things wrong with their neighborhoods, about half attribute their discontent to the presence of minority groups. In view of this fact it is not surprising that dissatisfaction with their neighborhoods is more often found among whites with less liberal attitudes toward minorities than among the more liberal minded.

The rapidly changing racial composition of Newark does not appear to have influenced an undue proportion of its population to make plans for moving. On a national basis, about one-fifth of the population changes

address each year. A fifth (20%) of the Negro heads of household and slightly less of the whites (16%) said they intended to move within the year following the survey.

The presence of Negroes in a white neighborhood was of much less importance than factors unrelated to race in the decision of whites to move. For instance, while 16% of the whites who planned to move said that they did not want to live near Negroes, 28% said they wanted better housing, and another 16% had special reasons for moving, such as a change of job.

Services Provided City and Private Agencies

The Mayor's Commission was interested in obtaining information on the extent to which Newark's residents feel that racial discrimination is a factor in the operation of certain specific public services. These include some which are supplied by the local government and supported by taxpayers, and others which may be supported privately but which perform a broad public service. The services about which people were questioned include the school system, the police force, garbage collection, recreation facilities, and health and welfare institutions.

The School System

Relatively few of Newark's heads of households are dissatisfied with the extent of integration in Newark's schools. Many people, particularly

among the whites but even among the Negroes, have no opinion as to whether the city is doing an adequate and appropriate job at present in its handling of integration in the schools.

A majority of the Negroes (52%) are satisfied with the extent of integration, and about a third more have no thoughts on the subject. About nine-tenths of the whites are evenly split between satisfaction and not having any opinion. Thus, although a minority of Negroes (17%) think that more integration is needed, and a minority of whites (10%) takes the opposite view that there is too much integration, the large majority of the public is not overly exercised about the situation. There is a tendency for the upper economic and educational strata of both races to be more concerned than the average with increasing the extent of school integration. This greater than average concern with more racial integration is also true of Jewish heads of white households, and of northern born heads of Negro households.

When parents of school children in Newark considered their children's schools to be at least partly integrated, they were asked a much more pointed question: "Would you rather have your son (or daughter) go to school without many members of the (opposite race)?" It might be expected that this highly specific question, directed only at parents, would elicit a lot more definite opinion and maximize the opposition to integration much more than the general question about integration which was directed to all respondents.

Yet it is found that three-quarters of the white parents either reject the idea of segregation when it is posed in this form or else do not particularly care whether there are many Negroes in their child's school. The fact that a quarter of the white parents would object to having many Negroes in their child's school may be a matter of some concern to the Commission, but the strength of their concern is not known from this survey. The largest group of these people offer no specific reason for their opinion, other than to reiterate a belief in segregation or a dislike for the Negroes in the particular school. The next most frequently voiced type of comment related to physical violence - Negro children start fights, steal, and so forth. In general, people who reject Negroes as fellow students for their children in school also reject them as neighbors.

The Negro parents, when asked about having many white children in their child's school, objected only in a negligible number of cases.

It has been shown that most people are either satisfied or unconcerned with the extent of integration achieved in the city schools. Similarly, most people feel that schools provided in Negro and white neighborhoods are equally good, or else they have no opinion on the matter. More specifically, about nine-tenths of the whites are equally split between thinking either that the schools for both races are similar, or they have no opinion on the matter; eight-tenths of the Negroes are split evenly along the same lines. Thus, with both races satisfaction or lack of opinion is the rule.

However, the minority of Negroes, fully a fifth of all Negro respondents, who say that the schools in Negro neighborhoods are not as good as those in white neighborhoods, deserves some comment. Though a fifth is a minority, it may under some circumstances be considered a sizeable proportion. It is particularly those Negroes who are likely to be the more sophisticated - the better educated, more well-to-do and those in households where the head was born in the North - who believe that schools in Negro neighborhoods are not as good. The major complaint is that the school buildings and facilities in Negro neighborhoods are old and rundown, or that they are overcrowded. There is also some feeling that Negro schools do not get as good teachers as do the white schools. Responsibility for these deficiencies is laid at the door of the city itself; either municipal officials, or, more specifically, the school board, are generally held accountable.

Whether the respondents who see the city as responsible are then willing to absolve the city from blame because the Negroes generally live in older areas, where the school buildings are inevitably less up-to-date, or whether they think the city does not do enough, remains an open question. At this point it can only be stated that while most Negroes are satisfied with the current situation, a minority of one-fifth does see certain inequities in the schools used primarily by children of their race.

Recommendation

The Commission might consider investigating whether these perceptions arise out of real inequities, and if so, the extent to which they may be attributable either to the simple fact that Negroes live in the older parts of Newark where the school plants would naturally be older, or to any actual discrimination.

The Police

Stories about mistreatment of Negroes by the police are known to circulate to some extent throughout Newark. On occasion such stories turn up in the news media, and must to some extent also travel by word-of-mouth. The stories may be true or untrue; this survey can only report whether residents who are acquainted with such stories believe them to be true.

Whites were asked if they had heard stories of unfair treatment by the police of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, while Negroes were asked only about treatment of their own race. In addition, those who had heard stories were asked to comment both on the amount of truth they thought was in them, and who they believed was responsible for these discriminatory actions.

Less than a tenth of the whites have heard such stories, and even fewer believe them to be true. Familiarity with stories of police discrimination, as well as belief in them, is somewhat higher among the college educated, the upper income groups, and Jews than it is among others.

A situation with which the Commission may have much more concern exists with respect to the Negro community. Here, stories about police discrimination - physical abuse, unfair arrests, and, to a lesser extent, laxness in the protection of Negroes - are widespread, and have been heard by almost half the Negro community. Furthermore, most of those who have heard these stories believe there is at least some truth in them.

Among those Negroes who believe there is some truth in the stories they have heard, the majority do not indict the entire police department, but pin the blame on individual police officers; only about a quarter of this group who believe the stories, say the top police officials are responsible. An additional one out of seven say that some Negroes are themselves responsible for the harsher treatment by the police.

Recommendation

Belief in stories about mistreatment of Negroes at the hands of the agency whose primary function is to protect citizens, the police, is so widespread among Negroes as to present a very real problem for the City of Newark. While this situation may not be unique to Newark, for stories of discriminatory police actions circulate in other cities as well, it is nonetheless true that a sizeable proportion of Newark's population lives with some concern about the protective agency which their taxes support. A thorough investigation to learn whether these charges have any foundation in fact is clearly called for, followed by a public relations program aimed at assuring the Negro community

either that their fears are unfounded or that proper steps have been taken to insure their equal rights before the law in the future. The Commission or the Police Department may want to consider the advantages of consulting the various public and private agencies in Newark concerned with the field of human relations in order to develop an adequate program to deal with the situation.

Other Services

The other public and private services about which respondents were questioned do not appear, on the whole, to present problems which have the immediacy of that related to the widely held belief in unfair treatment of minorities by the police. Trouble spots are indicated by the responses of relatively small proportions of residents. Each of these would require further investigation to determine whether inequities actually exist and the extent to which these areas may have potential for becoming the focus of conflict.

There is no great awareness among whites or Negroes of preferential treatment of whites with regard to the frequency of garbage collection in white and in Negro neighborhoods. Negro residents of Central Ward, a predominately non-white neighborhood in the oldest section of town, are more likely to believe that such a difference exists than are those who live in other areas: a fifth of the Negroes in this neighborhood criticize the city on this score.

Inequities between the treatment extended by hospitals, clinics, and other health services in Newark to white patients and that given Negroes and Puerto Ricans is seldom perceived by whites. Among Negroes, about one-tenth do feel that services rendered by such institutions are sometimes less for Negroes.

A large majority of both white and Negro heads of household do not feel that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are discriminated against by such welfare services as the Visiting Nurse Association, the Family Service Bureau, or the Department of Public Welfare. Again, one-tenth of Negro heads of households do hold this opinion.

Whites are not, on the whole, aware of differences between the playground and other recreational facilities available in white and in Negro neighborhoods. Among Negroes a sizeable minority, one-fourth, are of the opinion that Negro neighborhoods are less well-off in this respect. Most of the Negro heads of household who hold this opinion believe that playgrounds and other recreational facilities are poorer in their own neighborhoods. Such feeling is strongest in Central Ward, where more than a third of the Negro heads of household think the city fails them in this respect. In this neighborhood which has, over-all, fewer of the pleasant features of a residential neighborhood, the absence of such facilities as playgrounds may be noticed more, simply because the need is greater.

Recommendation

As in the case with the schools, the Commission may want to determine further whether inequities in playgrounds and recreational facilities really exist; if they do, the question then becomes one of deciding whether there is truly any discrimination involved or whether the needs are so much greater in the poorer areas that it is not possible to serve them as well.

Housing and Race

It is evident from much of the foregoing that in the area of housing feelings run particularly high. The majority of whites in Newark want no further encroachment on their residential areas by Negroes, and the majority of Negroes feel their lack of adequate housing as a real deprivation.

In this situation the people of Newark are not alone. The Report of the Commission on Race and Housing, after pointing out that racial discrimination has decreased in many fields, says that housing and residence "have proved probably the most resistant of all fields to demands for equal treatment." It is the opinion of the same Commission that while racial discrimination in the modern world is in retreat, it will make its last stand within the neighborhood, that is, it attempts to prevent people of different races from living together.^{1/}

^{1/} Where Shall We Live: Report of the Commission on Race and Housing, 1958. University of California Press. pp. 3-4

Additional information gathered in the survey supports the conclusion that the area of housing constitutes, from the point of view of its residents, Newark's most important problem in the realm of inter-group relations.

White respondents were asked: "Do you yourself feel that landlords and property owners should be allowed to get together in their neighborhood and agree not to rent apartments or sell houses to certain minority groups?" This is a much more specifically worded proposition than the one cited earlier in this report - when general agreement or disagreement with the statement that Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, should be prevented from moving into white neighborhoods was called for - in that it invites people to take a stand on a particular mechanism for enforcing neighborhood segregation. The more specific proposition, with its description of the restrictive covenant process, was less acceptable than the general principle about keeping Negroes out, but, nevertheless, a solid majority (55%) of Newark's white heads of household would accord landlords and property owners the right to band together against minority groups.

When the whites of Newark as a whole talk about keeping minority groups out by means of restrictive covenants, for all intents and purposes they are talking about Negroes and, to a lesser extent, Puerto Ricans.

This sentiment in favor of keeping Negroes out of white neighborhoods is at its highest in Vailsburg (66%), where few, if any, Negroes live. It is at its weakest in Clinton Hill, where forty per cent (compared with

fifty-five per cent for the entire city) give approval to restrictive covenants.

Three-quarters of the white home owners in Newark believe that when Negroes move into a previously all white neighborhood property values go down. While far from all of these attach any blame to the Negro for this situation, a quarter of them nevertheless say that values decline because Negroes do not take care of their property, and smaller groups make similar remarks about Negroes overcrowding property, or simply being "undesirable" as neighbors.

It is significant to observe that the most liberal white citizens in Newark, those who reject all four propositions suggesting discrimination of one sort or another against Negroes, are less convinced than the average that a decline in property values is an automatic concomitant of the movement of Negroes into a neighborhood; yet, so widespread are the ideas about the relationship between housing and race, that over half of these most liberal whites still adhere to the idea that property values do go down when Negroes move in.

This is an aspect of race relations in which the "self-fulfilling prophecy" is very liable to be at work. If enough whites believe that property values must go down when Negroes move in, for whatever reason, then it is likely that property values will indeed go down, unless some other factor intervenes. Whites, believing their property will become increasingly worth less, will sell for less.

In addition, since non-whites frequently find it easier to obtain entry into neighborhoods which are already on the decline, it has been observed that their coincidental presence is often used as "evidence" to prove that they caused the fall in values in the first place. Studies have shown, however, that "whether entry of non-whites into a neighborhood will tend to support or depress property values or have no effect, depends upon the housing market circumstances of the particular case."^{1/}

Only about a fourth of the white property owners feel their own property has been declining in value lately. This is true despite the fact that a large majority of white home owners subscribe to the general principle that entry of Negroes into an area causes property values to drop.

Among this minority who say that their property has declined in value, about half specifically cite the presence of Negroes as a causative factor. Another group, amounting to a fifth of those who see a decline in value, attribute the drop to the fact that the neighborhood is getting old and is deteriorating. As mentioned earlier, some people may place the onus for the situation on the presence of Negroes without considering that a neighborhood may already be in process of deterioration before Negroes are "allowed" to move in.

Reasonably, those people who reject Negroes as neighbors are more likely than others to cite the movement of Negroes into the neighborhood as having brought about a decline in property values.

1/ Ibid., pp. 19-20

A majority of both white and Negro home owners state that Negroes must pay more for their property when they first move into a white neighborhood. Both groups say, in one way or another, that in order to break the neighborhood barriers, such payment of premium prices is necessary.

Opinion is widespread among Negroes that members of their race cannot live anywhere they want in Newark and its suburbs, even if they have the money to pay for it; they are not wanted in certain neighborhoods, and are prevented by one means or another from buying or renting in them. In naming specific neighborhoods, Newark's three most prosperous areas, Weequahic, Forest Hill and Vailsburg were most often singled out as places where Negroes cannot live. The latter two, of course, are almost exclusively white at present while Weequahic is in the main direction of movement for the upper economic stratum of Negroes in Newark.

Most Negroes state that they must pay premium amounts when they rent apartments in Newark. Almost three-quarters of them say they pay more in rent than whites for the same kind of apartment, and the reasons they offer relate mostly either to gouging by landlords or to the construction of rent barriers to keep Negroes out of certain housing or neighborhoods. Another group says Negroes pay more rent because there is not enough housing available: such an explanation contains the assumption, of course, that there is less housing available for Negroes than for whites, and that therefore the pressure on housing facilities is greater among Negroes. As has been suggested earlier in this report, this belief among Negroes may well be founded in fact, and further investigation appears to be indicated.

Recommendation

In considering the action programs which might be initiated by the Commission or other groups in Newark, it may be pointed out again that the area of housing and race is the one which contains the greatest problem for Newark and its residents. Among homeowners, the whites are convinced that Negro entry causes property values to decline; Negroes in general feel that housing is their greatest problem in the city, for they meet with discrimination in terms of where they may live and how much they must pay for the privilege.

Since the white population, including people who are generally among the most liberal in the city, expresses more prejudice in regard to race and housing than in regard to any other area of race relations, the Commission is likely to face some of its most difficult tasks in working on this problem.

Efforts aimed at combatting prejudice are probably not enough, since discrimination leads to prejudice just as prejudice leads to discrimination. The Mayor's Commission may want to consider, in creating human relations programs, how the city's resources can be mobilized to fight whatever discrimination exists in housing at present, since this discrimination is not only undesirable in itself but also can lead to further prejudice and discrimination. In the opinion of the Commission on Race and Housing, the most important groups to work with are not the prejudiced

individuals themselves, but those who control local housing practices - the government and the housing industry.^{1/}

^{1/} Ibid, p. 62

IV. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In the course of this study, a number of problem areas relevant to group relations in Newark have been uncovered. These have been discussed in the current volume, and the survey findings on which they are based are covered in detail in Volumes I & II. Presented below is a brief listing of the problems which are the most widespread in Newark, and which appear to be deserving of particular attention by the Commission and other agencies, public and private, in their efforts to develop a healthy climate of group relations in Newark. The criterion for selecting these particular problems for listing has been a numerical one: they are the facts of life in Newark which apply to relatively large numbers of people, or are the opinions about life in Newark held by fairly large numbers.

1. Housing

Housing presents the most pressing problem area for inter-group relations in Newark. The need of non-whites for better, more adequate housing, and a living environment more in keeping with their changing status and aspirations is recognized by whites as well as non-whites. For their part, whites fear the encroachment of non-whites on their residential neighborhoods, because, in general, they consider it inevitable that a white neighborhood deteriorates in various ways with the entry of Negroes as residents.

In addition to discussing their general needs, Negroes report they are subject to discrimination in two areas: they are not free to live where they may choose in the city; and, they are required to pay more rent than whites for similar quarters. The findings strongly, though not conclusively, support the contention that Newark's Negroes must pay premium rents for their housing. Further investigation would point the way for action in this area.

Belief that the entry of non-whites into a white neighborhood automatically brings about a decline of property values is firmly entrenched among the white property owners of Newark. Should property owners act on this belief, economic and social upheaval could result for the city and for individual citizens. A program aimed at dispelling belief in the inevitability of such an outcome from racial shifts in living patterns should be undertaken.

The resources of the housing industry as well as those of government would have to be drawn upon to develop any meaningful action programs in the field of housing.

2. The Police Force

A serious problem exists in Newark in that a substantial segment of the Negro community believes that the police treat members of their race unfairly, even though they tend to blame individual policemen for this more than they blame the authorities.

Action along several fronts may be considered. An investigation of the truth of such allegations is one approach. Such an investigation would point the way to subsequent action. In addition, whether the stories of police discrimination are true or whether they are exaggerated or unfounded, it would be desirable to consider programs to improve relations between the police force and the Negro citizens. The specific types of action will be best known to experts in the field of human relations, but they may include such things as human relations workshops, consideration of the way in which Negro and white policemen might best be assigned in various neighborhoods, and public relations programs to improve public attitudes toward the police force.

3. Schools

A substantial minority of Newark's Negro citizens believe the schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods to be inferior to those in predominantly white neighborhoods. Such complaints focus on the inadequacy of the physical plant, and, to a lesser extent, on the quality of teachers provided in the predominantly Negro schools. An evaluation should be made to determine the objective facts of the situation and, if there is justification for the complaints, an effort should be made to seek and institute remedies.

4. Recreation Facilities

Again, a fair-sized minority of Negroes assert that playgrounds and other recreational facilities are not as good in Negro as in white neighborhoods. While the bases for such beliefs were not

obtained in this survey, the data suggests that some effort should be undertaken, as mentioned above with regard to schools, to determine the legitimacy of the complaints and, if possible, to correct such inequities as exist.

5. Occupational Opportunities

The Commission should not overlook the fact that both whites and Negroes consider employment opportunities to be second only to housing as a major problem area for Newark's Negroes. The Negro respondents discuss their employment problems largely in terms of the scarcity of jobs and in terms of discrimination. Since no special questioning was devoted to this problem, it is difficult to make a specific recommendation on this problem, other than to point out its existence. (It may be of significance to note that the interviewing on this survey took place during the most severe phase of the 1958 recession, when unemployment was generally at its height, and that responses might have been affected by this situation.)